

ETS-WF-AD-107

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LORD  
Negroponte

~~TOP SECRET~~  
**EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY**

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

NOV 30 PM 1:48

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~~TOP SECRET~~ 341447Z NOV 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY  
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS SECTION ONE OF SEVEN  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO: AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
CITE: WWS2269

DOS Review Completed.

NOVEMBER 30, 1972

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF PRESIDENT THIEU'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON.

BEGIN TEXT. QUOTE

SAIGON, NOVEMBER 26 1972

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I WOULD LIKE TO AVAIL MYSELF OF THE OPPORTUNITY OF MY SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DR. NGUYEN PHU DUC'S CALL ON YOU TO SEND YOU MY WARM PERSONAL REGARDS AND MY APPRECIATION FOR THE FRANKNESS OF YOUR MESSAGES TO ME IN THE PAST FEW DAYS.

I HAVE STUDIED VERY CAREFULLY YOUR MESSAGES AND THE REPORTS FROM MY AMBASSADORS IN PARIS ON THE MEETINGS BETWEEN YOUR REPRESENTATIVES AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

HIS EXCELLENCY RICHARD M. NIXON,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON D.C.

IT HAS NOW BECOME CLEAR TO ME THAT AFTER FOUR DAYS OF TALKS, THE COMMUNIST SIDE HAS NOT SHOWN ANY GOOD WILL IN CONSIDERING THE MODIFICATIONS WE HAVE PROPOSED TO THE DRAFT AGREEMENT IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR. ON THE CONTRARY, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE DISPLAYED EXTREME INTRANSIGENCE BY AGAIN RAISING THEIR UNREASONABLE DEMANDS. THEY OBSTINATELY REFUSE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM POSED BY THE PRESENCE OF OVER 300,000 OF THEIR TROOPS IN THE SOUTH, WHICH WILL STAY ON EVEN AFTER THE PEACE AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED. THEY ALSO TRY TO IMPOSE ON US A STRUCTURE OF POWER CALLED THE "NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD" WITH THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS WHOSE FUNCTIONS FAR EXCEED THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AN ELECTION COMMISSION AND INFRINGE UPON THE LEGAL PREROGATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

AS I HAVE CLEARLY STATED IN MY LETTER TO YOU ON NOVEMBER 18, 1972 AND IN THE MEMORANDUM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM ON THAT SAME DATE, I VIEW THAT THOSE TWO PROBLEMS ARE BASIC PROBLEMS OF WHICH DEPENDS THE LIFE OR DEATH OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE NATION.

ON THE FIRST BASIC PROBLEM WHICH IS THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN THE SOUTH AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT, I WISH TO STRESS HERE THAT IT IS A PROBLEM OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO US.

AS STIPULATED BY THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIETNAM, NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM ARE TWO DISTINCT ZONES AND PENDING REUNIFICATION THEY HAVE TO RESPECT EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY. HOWEVER, NORTH VIETNAM IN ITS RELENTLESS PURSUIT OF ITS POLICY OF EXPANSION AND DOMINATION HAS BLATANTLY VIOLATED THESE AGREEMENTS.

IT HAS SENT ITS TROOPS TO WAGE AGGRESSION AGAINST SOUTH VIETNAM FOR MORE THAN 15 YEARS, AND MORE RECENTLY THEY OPENLY VIOLATED THE INTERNATIONAL DEMARCATION LINE BY LAUNCHING THEIR MASSIVE INVASION LATE MARCH OF THIS YEAR.

ALTHOUGH THIS ALL-OUT OFFENSIVE COMPLETELY FAILED, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT YET RENOUNCED THEIR OBJECTIVES AND HAVE NOT PUT AN END TO THEIR AGGRESSION.

THE VICTORY THE COMMUNISTS COULD NOT ACHIEVE BY THE FORCE OF ARMS ON THE BATTLEFIELDS THROUGHOUT THESE YEARS AND ESPECIALLY DURING THE PAST SEVEN MONTHS, THEY STILL TRY TO ACHIEVE IT THROUGH THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT ADVANTAGEOUS TO THEIR SIDE, COUPLED WITH A MILITARY OFFENSIVE. AT A LATER STAGE, THEY WILL PROBABLY ATTEMPT A GENERAL UPRISING ONCE ALL US TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN. THE CESSATION OF THE BOMBING AND MINING OF NORTH VIETNAM TOGETHER WITH THE MAINTAINING OF SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM WILL CREATE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE COMMUNISTS TO CARRY OUT THEIR AGGRESSIVE PLANS. THIS IS NOT A SPECULATION BUT THE POLICY WHICH THE COMMUNIST REGIME IN NORTH VIETNAM HAS PUBLICLY ADVOCATED. THEIR CADRES HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THIS POLICY BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE CEASEFIRE, AND THROUGHOUT THE POLITICAL PROCESS AS CONTEMPLATED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT.

BY MAINTAINING THEIR TROOPS IN THE SOUTH, BESIDES MILITARY ADVANTAGES, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS SEEK TO INFLUENCE THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROCESS IN SOUTH VIETNAM PREVENTING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FROM EXERCISING THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

THE 300,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM ARE AGGRESSORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF COUNTLESS INNOCENT SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE. THEY ARE EXTERNAL FORCES, ILLEGALLY INTRODUCED INTO SOUTH VIETNAM. AS LONG AS THEY STAY IN SOUTH VIETNAM, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT EVEN FOR THE SOLDIERS AND POLITICAL CADRES OF THE NLF TO FREELY EXPRESS THEIR POLITICAL VIEWS AND TO OPT FREELY FOR THE POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THEIR CHOICE. A FORTIORI, IT IS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE UNARMED CIVILIANS OF SOUTH VIETNAM TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

I CAN ASSURE YOU IN ALL SINCERITY THAT IF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM SOUTH VIETNAM, WE CAN RAPIDLY AND PEACEFULLY SETTLE THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE NLF AND US. I AM CONFIDENT THAT I WILL SUCCEED BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT AMONG SOUTH VIETNAMESE, THERE ARE NO OBSTACLES THAT CANNOT BE OVERCOME. ONCE THE NLF IS

ABLE TO FREE ITSELF FROM HANOI'S HOLD, IT WILL NOT NECESSARILY ESPOUSE ALL HANOI'S DEMANDS. EVEN THOUGH THE SOUTHERN VIETCONG FIGHT UNDER HANOI'S BANNER, THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT ALL OF THEM SHARE THE SAME MOTIVES AND OBJECTIVES AS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS. MORE THAN 200,000 RETURNEES, MOST OF THEM SOUTH VIETNAMESE, ATTESTED TO THIS FACT. THE SMOULDERING DISENCHANTMENT OF MANY ELEMENTS IN THE NLF UNITS WHICH ARE BEING CONTROLLED AND DOMINATED BY COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAMESE CADRES IS WELL KNOWN.

**TOP SECRET SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVE EYES ON**